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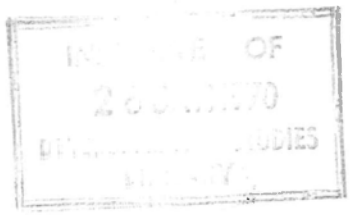

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by

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EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE - THE IMPACT OF SELF HELP

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EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE - THE IMPACT OF SELF HELP

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The problem of relating school education to the lives and economies of African peoples has a long history. In his paper, "Education for Self Reliance", President Nyerere precies many of the arguments of past commentators about the need for school structure and curricula to bear a greater relevance to African conditions. Then, putting them into an African context, he outlines an educational policy to meet the requirements of a developing nation, determined to achieve a pattern of equitable social and economic growth with which, in principle, one feels few people would wish to disagree. (1)

Educational policy statements tend to emphasise the role of the school in changing attitudes and habits, and spearheading attempts to create a new social and economic order. Yet the school, as an adaptable social institution, not only shapes the community it serves, but is also shaped by the expectations of that community. In most African countries today parents and pupils still tend to consider that the primary purpose of the school is to prepare students for wage earning employment in the relatively small modern sectors of their societies. Thus, in any drive to create a new committment to rural life and agricultural development, not only the schools, but the attitudes of people towards them will need changing.

In this process, the school has two complementary tasks. It must in a democratic setting conform to the expectations of the community effectively enough to retain the confidence and co-operation of the community. At the same time it must initiate changes, and in so doing present new insights to pupils and parents clearly enough to stimulate them to reconsider their values and aspirations, and support the new form the school is taking. The school offers great attractions as an agent of socialisation, but it cannot develop new values that conflicts with the evidence of a community's eyes. It must demonstrate the benefits of such values in practical as well as ideological terms.

The importation of the restricted European model of the school may well have created many of Africa's educational problems today, but it was not indoctrination that led many African people to accept this model so wholeheartedly. They did so because such schools served many of their immediate desires, by offering opportunities for employment and entrepeneurship, and, once the idea of challenging and replacing colonial authorities developed,

by offering an education which would ultimately match that of European administrators and settlers.

The situation became even more complicated because in such a setting almost all the early concern about relating education to African conditions and agricultural development came from European sources. Although well meaning, most attempts to develop more relevant approaches failed to account for local priorities and were vulnerable to charges of delaying African advancement. Amongst many African communities a resistance to more rurally orientated education has been built up.(2) In may cases this is still being reinformed by such factors as the physical layout and traditions of schools, the more obvious precedents from developed societies, and the social mobility and economic success that the old order of education still achieves.

Today, independent Africa's new planners are able to see a clear historical distinction between 'relevance' as part of a process of colonial tutelage, and 'relevance' as the key to a realistic, independent government's educational policy. But it is much more difficult for the 'man in the street' or 'in the field' to do so. Yet in nearly all Africa's new policies for more suitable education are plans to increase co-operation between school and community, and beyond this, as the theme of self reliance implies, governments facing a lack of capital resources often expect local communities to be responsible for building their own schools by self help efforts.

Reliance on self help efforts presupposes a close understanding between educational planners and the local communities who take up the responsibilities. The purpose of this paper is to look at the kind of local communities that provide support for schools, the values they hold, the roles they can play in developing schools, and the extent to which an effective pattern of co-operation with educational planners and innovators can be established. Most of the material has been taken from a partially completed series of case studies of harambee (self help) secondary schools in Kenya, on which the writer is at present working.(3)

Examples of the constructive role self help movements can play in the development of formal educational institutions can be found in many cultures. In nineteenth century Europe, the creation of such institutions as working men's colleges, mechanics institutes, Sunday schools and continuation classes not only helped to alleviate the frustrations of the industrial classes, but formed growing points from which, after gradual involvement of central and local government authorities, many of Europe's modern educational institutions have evolved.

In Africa an equally wide variety of self help activity has emerged. For instance, there are no Ibo community schools, the communal support for secondary modern schools in Western Nigeria and the work of the Tanzania African Parents Association. Integration with government activities is not only necessary for planning purposes but may well offer opportunities for the creation of community supported bases for new approaches in African education. The speed of change and very altered economic and political situation however will require considerably different patterns of government involvement from the ones developed in laisses-faire Europe.

One of the most forceful examples of self help education in Africa has been the drive amongst local communities in Kenya to build and support "Harambee" (self help) secondary schools. The origins of self help activities in Kenya can be traced back to the age grade structures and patterns of communal government and responsibility which featured in so many of her traditional societies. Education was a communal concern and, once the advantages of missionary schools were recognised, communities agreed to provide land, buildings, and support for teachers, resulting in the missionaries, after their initial struggle, and eventually the colonial government, relying very heavily on communal self help efforts in their plan to develop schools. However, the impetus these efforts built up during the 1920's began to outstrip the capacity of the missionaries and the government to train teachers, to think creatively about the curriculum and to provide adequate supervision. By the 1930's a sizeable reaction to this situation, and the undue pressures which the missions were placing on traditional customs, led to the development of an Independent African school movement. This developed forcibly amongst the Kikuyu people during the thirties and forties as the desire to control the education of their own children grew.(4) It can be seen as a second phase of communal self help involvement in the development of formal education in Kenya.

The colonial government's efforts to expand education after the second world war were inadequate but self help efforts steadily increased the provision of primary schools so that by independence primary education had outpaced both secondary school provision and employment opportunities. By 1967 the national picture showed a seven year primary course being offered to just over 50% of the school age population, although with great variations between the districts. In progressive areas, such as Nyeri, school attendance for boys was nearing 90% and the age of school leaving was dropping to 13 or 14, creating a gap of two to

three years before many school leavers could even hope to get a permanent job. It was in such areas that local communites responded to President Kenyatta's call for 'Harambee' (self help) projects, by working so hard to develop secondary schools.

The Development of Secondary Schools for African Students in Kenya, 1945-68.

	Aided	Unaided	Total:
1945	4	0	4
1957	21	4	25
1960	33	8	41
1963	82 (36)*	13 (19)*	95
1964	152	68	220
1965	184	150	334
1966	197	201	398
1967	206	361**	567

Except where indicated all figures are taken from Departmental and Ministerial Annual Reports.

* At independence the distinction between African, Asian and European schools was dropped. Thus, figures from 1964 onwards include European and Asian schools. These are shown in brackets for 1963.

** This figure is a revised estimate calculated jointly by the Statistics Section of the Ministry of Education and writer. It includes many schools which, although functioning before 1967, had not submitted returns to the Ministry. The total can be broken down as follows:-

361 = 247 Harambee schools
38 Private secondary schools
45 'Hidden' private - i.e. commercial or tutorial colleges, offering normal secondary education.
31 religious secondary schools, (Catholic seminaries and fundamentalist mission schools).

Whilst these figures are a remarkable tribute to the voluntary efforts of Kenya's people, they often arouse a number of strongly held criticisms regarding the general role of self help activities in education:

(i) From a strictly manpower viewpoint it is often pointed out that because there is no direct government control on 'inputs', or the quantity and quality of the manpower produced, valuable resorces are likely to be wasted and other sectors of the economy with a greater bearing on rural development neglected.

(ii) Educationally it can be argued:-

(a) that a lack of government control and the probable expedient use and spreading out of resource will lead to a lowering of standards and narrowing of the curriculum;

(b) that self help secondary schools divert local resources, particularly trained primary school teachers, consequently damaging or offsetting any gains they may bring by harming the base of the education system;

(c) that local communities lack sufficient knowledge of education to be able to alter or adapt the old 'elitist' examination oriented system. By establishing schools of this type they are reinforcing an outdated and harmful system.

(iii) From a socio-political stand it is often argued that education raises aspirations and speeds up the rejection of traditional rural values, causing greater frustration when school leavers cannot find the jobs or lives they hoped for. These arguments all have weight but they are still hypothetical; indeed they stimulate much social scientific research in Africa today. They can be questioned on a number of equally hypothetical grounds:

(i) That too strict a manpower view of education does not recognise that education probably increased the initiative and ingenuity which people need to tackle the task of rural development effectively:

(ii) That the opportunity costs of trying to limit a strong self help drive to develop education, such as communal apathy, political reaction and economic disruption, may be much greater than trying to steer it into a more productive form.(5)

(iii) That educated young people are more likely to rationalise their difficulties, and are better equipped to face them, than uneducated people. In a society, conscious that education is a prerequisite for employment, frustration is more likely to be caused by denying young people education than by allowing them to obtain education, no matter how slender the employment prospects beyond it may be.

(iv) Too abrupt a distinction is often drawn between primary and secondary education, and the demand for raising the level of education arises naturally as the result of the expansion of primary schools.

In this situation it is justifiable that trained school teachers should be spread through the developing educational system. Further, it is arguable that primary schools in African countries have already had to adapt themselves to being the training ground for expanding administrations and private sectors. In all probability, self help secondary schools are retaining experienced teachers in the profession and in the rural areas.

The wide range of these arguments, and the dichotomies they present are indications of the lack of knowledge and precedants that handicap educational planners when trying to discover and meet the real needs of developing areas. In countries where capital and technology are limited, and are spread over an embryonic modern industrialised sector, various stages of transitional, agricultural based development and traditional subsistence farming, a new, flexible approach to the financing and structure of education is necessary.

The basic economic requirement of such an approach is that it must achieve an optimum balance between the skills and general level of understanding it produces and the national resources and markets available. The basic socio-political requirement, in a situation where many people have learned to look upon education as a human right, is to find a 'modus vivendi' in which educational planners and the communities who use and support schools can work together.

The following table, based on Ministry of Education statistics and recent research projects, makes an estimate of the occupations of 147,000 1966 primary school leavers in 1967 and attempts to put Kenya's harambee secondary schools into perspective.(6) The table, though only an estimate, is accurate enough to show the need which harambee schools are attempting to meet.

(i)	15,000	found places in government aided schools.
(ii)	12,000	found places in harambee unaided schools.
(iii)	6,000	found places in other types of unaided schools.
(iv)	15,000	repeated primary classes.
(v)	4,000	found places in some form of further training (e.g. teacher training, Railways & Harbours training school)
(vi)	20,000	found some form of permanent employment.
(vii)	75,000	did not find permanent wage employment or formal education.(7)
TOTAL	147,000	

To many economists it is a moot point how far harambee schools serve a useful purpose, beyond providing a temporary respite for the labour market, and possibly widening the basis of

selection and improving the abilities of the few students who find wage employment. But opportunity costs are not the key issue in relation to self help schools.(8) With communities so heavily committed it is vital to find some way of utilising these efforts in conjuction with the present developments in the national system of education.

Organisation and Management

It is difficult to identify clearly any general basis on which the communities that develop and support harambee schools can be defined.
Geographically, traditional community areas have been divided by divisional and locational boundaries, and historically, much of the old community leadership and clan loyalties have been supplanted by such bodies as the District Administration, local government councils, political party branches, church organisations and co-operative societies. The sense of cummunal responsibility thus shifts, centering at different times on traditional ties, on political constituencies, on primary school or rural development project catchment areas, on church congregations and on administrative locations and divisions. Communities founding harambee schools may be affected by one or all of these factors. To some extent they are finally defined by the extent of fund raising campaigns and pupil catchment areas, but even these lines are often blurred because they frequently overlap. The position is further complicated by the intervention of individual politicians, churchmen and other influential citizens. Sometimes politicians or churches actually instigate the movement to found a school, but more often they are brought in to provide a focus for fund raising activities or to obtain approval for the school, or to help in finding teachers. Most well educated people in an area are asked for advice. Usually they give this freely, but in one or two cases a rather sinister aspect has developed where influential people have taken control of a school and 'managed' it on some form of profit making basis.

In some areas plans for co-operation between the various communities are developing. In Kisii there is a co-ordinating committee, in Machakos a salaried supervisor, in Kirinyaga the County Council is consulted, and the Maragoli Parent's Association has carried out a survey of the schools in its area. Yet the very establishment of the community all too often necessitates a dangerous recall to prochialism in which clan and area rivalries are revived, and a pattern of inter-community conflict and competition is aroused whichhinders regional or district planning and prevents inter-community co-operation where the scarcity of resources suggest it.

With such an interplay of forces a clear definition of supporting communities and the organisation of school committees is not possible for the nation as a whole and in each instance is a complex affair.

The most usual course of development involves a small group of accepted leaders, chief, primary school headmasters, religious leaders, in an area over which they have influence, calling a meeting (a baraza) at which interested individuals can express their views and pledge support. If a decision is taken to start a school further meetings are held to increase publicity, to decide on a site, to fix the amount and method of collecting contributions, and to elect a school committee. In this process the long established precedents of starting primary schools offer well understood guide lines.

Communities have their own ways of selecting competent people, although most committees do have to include 'diplomatic' appointments, like important county councillors or clan leaders. In some cases two committees are established, the larger one including all the necessary dignitaries, the smaller one being the actual working nucleus. In very few cases are the active officials illiterate and many have some knowledge of English. In rural areas their occupations are difficult to ascertain because able people tend to have several roles. Nearly all are farmers, many are, or have been, primary teachers, chiefs or local civil servants, and traders.

The progress of the school depends very largely on the committee members; on their ability to handle both the general problems of raising funds and recruiting teachers and the variety of incidents which may arise. These may concern denominational or political rivalries, conflicts with primary school committees or supporting co-operatives, and personal jealousies. Besides running the school soundly it is important that the committee publicise its work to the community. Failure to do this not only reduces support but can easily lead to rumours about a committee's ability or honesty. In this respect the help of a conscientious chief and an interested headmaster, who are both prepared to talk at length to the local community about the school, is invaluable.

The second set of reponsibilities facing a committee relates to its control over school affairs and its relationships with the headmaster and staff. In cases where both groups may lack experience and sufficient education, conflicts can arise easily. Often these hinder a school's work and cause changes. Yet generally a mutual understanding of the norms of the community, and a genuine desire for progress, provide a framework in which unsuitable committee members and staff members gradually select themselves out and good working relationships can be developed. The many cases

where teachers agree to accept interim salary payments until fees are collected are evidence of this. In one remarkable instance a school committee retained the services of an able teacher found embezzling school funds, requiring him to make repayment, plus a small fine, in instalments from his salary.

The legislation regarding harambee schools is complex and outdated. Although now being reconsidered by the Government, it has created such anomalies as secular schools applying for religious management in order to get official approval, and a lengthy processing of applications. Schools have as a result, been allowed to function before receiving final official approval, providing they could satisfy health requirements and show bona fide intentions. Clearly, in such an uncertain and variable setting, many school decisions on staffing, equipment or building programmes have often been wrongly made and money has been unwisely handled. In certain instances committees have been dismissed, school sites have been transferred and school names changed. In a few cases proposed schools have failed to materialise because of conflicts, but schools do not appear to be closing down because of inability to resolve local jealousies or the inaction of committees.

Many committees have stabilised and developed remarkably good schools. Thus the current situation shows a widely varying range of quality. But the situation is not static, for whilst in many communities the initial enthusiasms are waning, and the problems of raising money are getting harder and harder, the pattern of leadership is gradually refining itself in terms of ability and experience. Such problems as political animosities and religious rivalries are being isolated and clearer ideas of what is possible and the methods of securing it are developing. Agreements on the selective development of schools to continue beyond the Form 2 level, made in Machakos, and similar developments now being considered in Maragoli, are examples. As committees gain a greater awareness of their task new opportunites for meaningful community/government official relations are created, and already many voluntary links are being made with government education officers.

Finance

The ability of the community to raise sufficient funds is a basic issue in all self help projects. In the harambee school movement the financial arrangements are complex. At present, most schools are finding that costs are rising and that money is proving hard to raise.

These financial difficulties lie in the nature of the self help method. In the past self help has largely been treated as a substitute for capital, not as a technique for raising it. In

projects that have a high labour content, like road building or terracing, self help methods can cut costs considerably. But in the construction and maintenance of the present type of secondary schools, communities find themselves faced with both a heavy capital input and a sustained payment of recurrent costs.

A second, more crucial problem derives from the method of capital formation which self help groups use. To develop schools on a large scale a government normally raises a long term loan. This prevents too heavy a drain of immediate capital and lengthens the period of repayment in order to offset it against the long term rewards that education will bring. Self help techniques have a tendency, as practiced at present, do precisely the opposite. Money is often collected over several months to pay for the school before it is built. It is not uncommon for a committee to raise a collection for a classromm block, to use the money collected to build foundations and walls, and then the process of securing a licence and calling meetings, taking perhaps six months, has to be gone through again before enough money can be found to complete the roof and provide desks. Thus the start of the school or the opening of a new form is frequently delayed.

An added complication is that few schools make adequate distinction between capital costs and recurrent costs. Usually, only one cash book is kept. At the beginning of the book the initial funds raised are shown and the costs of the initial capital development subtracted. The balance is then carried forward. School fees, which tend to arrive in small payments throughout the school year, and further donations, are added, and the recurrent costs and further capital development are debited. Headmasters and/or treasurers, under normal circumstances, naturally tend to give essential teaching materials, school running costs and teachers' salaries first priority, with capital development being paid for very gradually from any remaining funds. This frequently means utilising local craftsmen, used to working on a casual contract basis, to make desks or to build the walls of a classroom, as money becomes available, allowing parents and pupils time in which to carry out tasks such as digging foundations, cutting timbers or baking bricks. School fees, averaging Shs.600 - 700 per annum, are often set to cover this type of capital expansion, and it is possible to find schools developing quite successfully, if rather slowly, on a monthly balance of less than £100.

Such a pattern of finance is obviously precarious, and requires dedication and committment on the part of its organisers. Of course it can be improved by separating funds so that budgets and estimates for capital development can be made clearly and on a long term basis.

But it is important to recognise that in following this type of procedure, schools are implicity coming to terms with the need to spread capital development costs over a period of time, and with the increasing reluctance of communities to accept further ad hoc collections.

Ideally a school should be able to estimate and budget its recurrent costs against fees, aiming at an optimum balance between the quality of education given and the charges parents can reasonably pay. Capital development funds should be drawn from the community separately and should be related realistically to what each individual and the community as a whole can afford, without harming their productive capacity. In some areas, like Meru, Kisii and Kirinyaga, co-operative societies have agreed to make annual payments, related to their annual production, to certain schools. There have been some difficulties in defining clearly which co-operatives should serve which schools, but, by and large, these have been overcome and schools receiving such help have generally progressed very well. Unfortunately recent dissentions within the co-operative societies themselves, created by richer farmers who quarrel against any form of general payment involving proportionate deductions from earnings, have caused the Ministry of Co-operative and Social Services to advise co-operatives against becoming linked with self help services to the level of production in an area through a co-operative not only prevents capital being drained from immediate productive use, but also, where education and health are concerned, creates extra incentives for agricultural effort.

In certain areas, for example Kirinyaga and Kitui, the County Councils make useful grants, but because county council funds are so heavily committed they are usually relatively small and often aimed at helping pupils with bursaries to cover fees. Other common sources of finance are ad hoc grants from the Department of Community Development, and grants from churches, local firms or individuals, which are usually aimed at some specific piece of equipment needed.

The general pattern then is that most schools appear able to cover their immediate running costs, providing the growing pressure for immediate capital development can be reduced. A closer look shows that this pressure is composed of a number of elements:

(i) The normal need to provide classrooms and teachers' houses for the increasing population. B.B. Housing is an important issue in the process of attracting better qualified teachers for higher forms.

(ii) The belief, strongly held in most communities, that government aid is directly related to the number of stone buildings a school has. In fact, the Ministry policy is primarily aimed at taking over schools in areas with particularly dense catchment areas and also where no government schools already exist. However, when advising committees, inspectors and provincial education officers do stress the need for better buildings and sometimes imply that the lack of these may diminish the chances of aid.

(iii) The need to obtain a grading in order to be allowed to enter candidates for School Certificate. N.B. This usually means building a laboratory and a library.

(iv) In some areas schools, which were developed on primary school sites, have been required to move or to build new primary school buildings at short notice, whether by county councils or the original primary school committees.

(v) A feeling that progress is related to physical development and that to be 'up to standard' educationally a school must have stone classrooms. Inter-community rivalry exacerbates this by preventing co-operation among sufficiently large groups and by creating a sense of competition in which stone buildings are the measure.

In these circumstances it is difficult to convince most committee members and parents that where a clear choice lies between building a new stone classroom, or retaining an old wooden one, and providing a full range of textbooks and equipment and paying teachers regularly, that the latter is the wisest policy. Too often attempts are made to compromise, leading to badly planned and expediently constructed buildings and inadequate teaching provision.

Some schools, recognising this dilemma, have decided to build temporary accommodation, using local materials - offcut timber, mud and poles - and plan to replace these buildings with permanent ones by accumulating a long term fund. This process appears sound, for the guided use of communal labour can create a base of well dug foundations on which adequate buildings in local materials can be erected, to be replaced by permanent structures when sufficient funds become available. (The revival of traditional forms of women's organisations is proving very valuable in this process in Machakos and Nyeri.) Providing the present unrealistic pressures for immediate permanent buildings

can be contained, schools should be able to develop effectively at their own pace. If they can do this, not only will their financial problems be eased, but there will be time to consider priorities carefully and opportunity for a pattern of consultation to develop with local education officials.

School fees and donations to schools appear to be the largest charge against most family budgets in progressive rural areas. The development of harambee schools is increasing this charge and in many areas there are indications that this is beginning to upset the pattern of rural development. There are instances of money being diverted from agricultural production as the ploughing of land and the spraying of crops are delayed. But a more intricate problem is developing as land and cattle are sold. The means of production are changing hands and many families are thus reducing the traditional bases of their livelihood. The long term effect of the first of these tendencies may well be to limit the growth of the area and the general opportunities for a better educated youth to use its talents. The long term effect of the second is hard to assess. It may produce more efficient agriculture, but in so doing it will presumably restrict the resources and possibly the morale of many families to which the better educated youths are returning.

These projections are hypothetical because without school fees to motivate them, families may use their resources on consumer items rather than agricultural development. Further, they discount the strong tendency for harambee schools to attract money into the rural areas. Very large numbers of people in the modern sector of Kenya society find themselves responsible not only for relatives' school fees, but also for the family contribution to schools.

One particularly worrying feature of the self help schools is their tendency to exacerbate inequalities. Usually, contributions are levied over the whole population of an area, but only those who can afford the fees can actually send their children. Even these children normally have to pass the Certificate of Primary Education.(9) County Council bursaries may offset this to some extent. So does the operation of the school, which allows time to pay fees and will often waive part of the fees of able pupils who are generally known to be poor. Nevertheless, in some areas a feeling of division does arise between those who can and those who cannot afford harambee schooling. The same situation occurs between districts. Wealthier areas can afford more schools than the less wealthy. This poses a difficult problem where government takeover is concerned.

A final problem relating to finance concerns control. When these schools began few people were available who knew how to estimate, budget and account for the way money was used. In several cases money was badly used and even misappropriated. People have thus become very suspicious about the use of money and treasurers have to be very scrupulous. In one school a headmaster produces a trial balance every month, duplicates it, and arranges for it to be explained to people by the chief at his regular meetings. Gradually expertise is building up and accounting procedures are becoming more effective, but the whole question of estimating and ordering priorities still proves very difficult where money is actually controlled by people who know so little of what a school needs.

Despite all the difficulties of organisation, management and financing of harambee schools it should be pointed out that although many schools have postponed development beyond Form 2, and some are facing falling recruitment and serious financial problems, only one school, to the knowledge of the writer, has actually closed down.

The Aims of the Community

Whilst there is much concern about the ability of harambee schools to match the standards of the government aided schools at which they are aiming, the basic problem they appear to pose is that even if they do reach these standards they will probably not fulfill the underlying hopes of the communities that support them. The root of this paradox appears to be the extent which people in rural communities equate academic learning with increased opportunities for wage earning employment and decrease in rural interest. What is less clear is the extent to which such people are aware of the increasingly difficult employment situation, the urgent need for development in rural areas, and are prepared to discuss this in relation to the purpose of their schools. The following observations are based largely on a number of interviews with committee members, parents and pupils in several harambee schools in the Eastern and Central Provinces.

School Committee Members: Each committee recognises the primary role of its school as a base in raising the level or progess in the area. Yet in this process it is stressed that the preparation of students for wage earning roles has the highest priority. A growing awareness of the lessening job opportunities increase this feeling, and several members have pointed out that as employers' selection standards are rising, harambee secondary schools are essential to give their local children a reasonable chance of employment. Most committees consider that government schools which have wide catchment areas, accept far too small a percentage of primary school leavers from their particular areas.

The idea of preparing students for wage earning employment and life away from the rural areas does not conflict with the obvious concern about an area's development. It is more likely to be regarded as a key factor in the area's progress. Wage earners are only seen to leave the community temporarily. They are expected to, and usually do, return regularly, bringing back a steady supply of capital to the area, both to community funds and to the farms they develop and the businesses they establish. In this way they become important innovators and leaders. Well developed houses and farms, belonging to educated men employed away from the area, are pointed out as examples to a visitor.

Suggestions that different forms of education, such as teaching, commercial, technical or agricultural skills, should be developed to help those remaining to build up the local are generally welcomed in principle. The need to help school leavers who cannot get jobs is fully accepted and it is felt that these subjects offer better prospects for employment. In this respect it is clear that employment does not only include full time wage earning jobs, but the whole range of casual labouring and contracting, which is at the base of the rural economy. The roles which young people must play in helping of family farms, eventually expanding production and bringing in new practices seem implicit in the discussion which such subjects as agriculture arouse.

The problems of creating suitable syllabuses and finding teachers for these subjects are realised. Committee members also query the place such subjects have, or might in future have, in examination syllabuses and in government schools. There is still suspicion of any attempt to change the school's approach from that of copying the government school, lest the harambee school be thought of as inferior in aim or standards.

Beyond considering the material returns that education can bring, it is clear that committees also consider it a measure of progress. As other communities are compared with their own, the prochialism that so often hinders inter-community co-operation and regional planning, is revealed as one of the more serious costs of the deep sense of community on which self help activities are founded. Discussions about expenses frequently turn to a wider basis of co-operation, but the ambivalence always remains, even though several men interviewed were involved in the development of more than one school, through church or county council connections.

In many conversations the idea that education has a value of its own in the general elightenment which it brings to individuals and the community as a whole, is apparent. One old

man in effect remarked, in response to my questions about employment prospects, "Are you, as a man whose education allows you to understand these problems, telling us that the answer to them is to stop educating our children". This is an indication of the direction and quality of some of the basic thinking amongst school committees and suggests some prospects for fruitful discussion.

Committees welcome the chance to talk, to ask questions and to seek advice. Such problems as raising money, finding teachers, building laboratories and selecting books, are discussed avidly. The need for Government support, despite a general concern that it will remove the committee's powers to select students, is constantly urged, but with or without it, and whatever their problems, each group interviewed seems determined to maintain its school.

Parents:

To a large extent, the views of committee members, many of whom have children in harambee schools, reflect those of the parents. Yet because such people are often better educated and more articulate, and because of their wider responsibilities as community leavers, their views do not fully represent those of the whole parent body.

The common bonds of the parents are their concern about educating their children, and the problems of raising school fees. The parent bodies appear to contain a fairly high proportion of the wealthier and better educated parents in a community, but the range appears to run right across the community. In some instances very poor parents with very limited lands who can only rely on casual labour to provide fees, manage to send their children to the local harambee schools.

Of course, knowledge about the subjects being taught and ability to judge the quality of the school vary considerably, but parents' lack of knowledge does not prevent an undoubted ~~interest~~ interest in a school's progress. Their basic drive is to try to give their children the best chance in life they can. There is a strong element of materialism. Many comments show that parents think of fees as an investment, and secondary education as a mark of status. Some take their children away from school if they think they are not doing well. Yet the fundamental need for the individual to know more about what is happening to him and to have a greater control of his affairs, is implicit in many of the deeper justifications for spending so much money on school fees.

One father whose boy was doing badly at school, asked the head-master to keep him because even if he was not going to pass the examinations he would improve his ability to cope with life if he remained in school.(10)

Parents' view of the job market is restricted, though most seem to appreciate that harambee schools cannot offer an automatic route to the better paid posts. Some have concrete ideas about steady employment in rural areas, such as 'health assistant' or 'teacher'. Many would appear to be satisfied with any reasonable employment and often comment that their children must choose. Only in one instance has strong opposition been found to agriculture as a school subject, and the man concerned had been deeply involved in the Kikuyu Independent schools, and was clearly influenced by the past arguments against training a labour force that could not think for itself. Most parents now accept that good farming needs education and agree with the school committee's support for agriculture. Where land is available, parents want their children to know how to farm it efficiently.

At present, fewer girls go to harambee schools than boys, but there is a growing concern about girls' education and also a general feeling that girls require better conditions, as for example, satisfactory boarding facilities.

Pupils. The values and aspirations of school pupils in Africa have been the focus of much speculation and research. But to obtain a clear picture is difficult, as anyone who has had prolonged contact with young people will know. Whilst a core of essential values may be forming, the process appears to be subject to an ebb and flow of views and ideas, ranging from flights of fancy, through various levels of hopefulness, to a very clear understanding of reality.

This brief section, based on interviews, observations and pilot tests with questionnaires in selected schools, attempts to discuss some of their prevailing attitudes which have a bearing on education.

a) Attitudes towards school: Harambee schools are seen as substitutes for government secondary schools, and pupils often compare them unfavourably with the government schools, particularly the lack of laboratories, libraries and qualified teachers, and comment on the unfair opportunities given to pupils in government schools. The degree to which these criticisms are voiced, and the intensity of feeling behind them, appears to depend largely on the quality of the school they attend. Where morale is high, pupils speak enthusiastically about their harambee schools and their chances of passing examinations. Where a school is seen to be

failing, usually through the lack of interest of the staff, pupils are very bitter, especially about the fees they pay. The more adventurous try to change the school in such circumstances, but the majority seem to develop an apathetic attitude to the school, neglecting classes and school duties, occasionally taking periods off to look for jobs, yet retaining their place in the school, hoping that things will improve. In one or two instances strikes have occured, but these have been isolated. Where unsatisfactory conditions persist, the general pattern is for recruitment of new classes to fall and for the older pupils to leave. In such cases parental pressure builds up on the management and staff and often changes are made. The arrival of a new interested headmaster can quickly spark a school into life again. Pupils will then begin to concentrate on school work and frequently offer to help to do labouring tasks to develop the school.

At the back of most pupils' minds is the desire to get a government school place. Sufficient numbers are able to do so to raise hopes, especially amongst the more able. The other hope is that the government may aid their school and guarantee its progress.

Teachers are really their greatest concern. Pupils talk rather vaguely about the need for graduates and are critical of other qualifications in general. In practice however they develop respect for, and confidence in, the teachers, often only primary trained, who try to help them.

b) Attitudes towards careers: The major purpose of going to school is quite clearly 'to go as far with education as I can' and 'to get a good job and become an important man'. Underlying such thinking is a recognition of the competition to be faced and the need to justify self interest with such reasons as 'to help my parents,' 'to help my country,' and more occasionally 'to help poor people' or 'people with no land'.

The job choices, and reasoning behind them, as revealed by questionnaires, vary surprisingly. Many pupils confuse their preferences and hopes with what they really believe is possible. It is not uncommon for a boy to name his first job choice as 'teacher, because with my little qualifications I can get it' and his second choice as 'pilot, because I would like to visit certain countries and also the pay is good'. Questionnaires, which asked for job choices at the different levels at which pupils might leave secondary school; Form 2, Form 4 or Form 6, indicate that pupils do relate their selections to their level of education and once they leave school are prepared to take the best job they can find. Interviews with pupils who have left confirm this and there are increasing numbers of pupils leaving harambee schools when regular

job opportunities arise, for instance in the Police or the commercial world. One interesting point is that in Central Province areas technical jobs are gaining prestige, and 'engineer', 'mechanic', and 'electrician' are becoming common job choices.

c) Attitudes to Rural Development and Agriculture: One needs to take care not to confuse 'agriculture' and 'farming' with employment. Pupils do select jobs as farmers and agricultural officers and give a variety of reasons for their selections, including personal prefernces, the importance of farming and the money to be made. But this does not mean that pupils who choose other jobs completely reject farming. Most of them it appears, see farming as a separate occupation to be carried out in their spare time and ultimately when they retire.

To show the force of this feeling, at least in Kiambu in Central Province, a brief description is given below of the answers of 26 boys and 7 girls in the Form 2 class of a harambee school, recently aided by the government, to a number of trial questions focused on students' attitudes to land and how they would use it.

All pupils wished to complete Form 4 and had a clear idea of thejobs they wanted. Only two mentioned agriculture, one wanting to be a farm manager, the other to work in insect control. All wished to own land and all butone described how they would develop it. Several mentioned the specific cash crops to be grown and animals to be kept, and a few commanted on the need to export products. The remaining boy wished to divide his land between his sons! All but three proposed to employ labourers on their land, sources being 'those who are poor', or 'do not wish to continue with school', 'relatives' and several included themselves, 'after work', or 'if I can get no other employment'. In answer to a question about the training of farm labour, nineteen proposed to sent their labourers to the local farmers training centre, seven proposed to employ experienced people, six said they would train the labourers themselves, and one said that he himself would go to an agricultural college.

Interviews confirm the belief that everybody should own land and try to run it well. If a man has a job he should use his money to develop his farm and build his house on it for when he gets older.

A close look at student diaries shows that nearly all students are expected to work on family farms. Boarders can only do so during holidays, but most day students record several hours farm work a week. Some have regular tasks, like milking or clearing irrigation channels. Much of the work involves heavy manual labour and several students complain ofthe effects on their

school work. Casual labouring is the way the less wealthy get pocket money and in some cases supplement school fees. Shs.2/50 to 3/00 per day, 'if a rich farmer will employ me', is the usual rate.

It is this aspect of agriculture and rural development which is unpopular. Schooling and wage employment are the escape routes. Attitudes to agriculture in school are generally favourable and arguments about its role in development are mentioned. Yet a sense of scepticism remains, particularly with the idea of practical work, which is still more clearly related, in most students' minds, to digging soil rather than taking its Ph value.

d) Attitudes towards a wider education: Interest in examinations is foremost and many of the questions which pupils ask in discussions relate to examination regulations. Thebasic approach to studies is to try to learn rather than to discuss. In spite of a reluctance to study a subject not directly related to the examination syllabus, lively discussions do occur and student essays on free ranging subjects often reveal a wide interest in current affairs.

Two points impress as one looks at these schools in operation. First, the determination of the pupils to work if they are given the opportunity. Classes are frequently overcrowded, forty per class being quite common, yet teachers who have something to offer have few discipline worries and can concentrate fully on presenting their lessons. Second, during the progess of the school, where students' abilities very enormously, a process of natural selection begins to take place. Headmasters comment that several of their less able boys, finding it increasingly hard to keep up, decide themselves that they have had sufficient formal education and will leave readily if other opportunities arise, even to take up roles as farm labourers.

Extra-curricular activities, along the lines of the 'traditional' government schools, are asked for, and students will pay extra contributions for them. These include games, debating, drama and 4K clubs, the latter concentrating on improving agricultural knowledge through projects such as growing tomatoes of keeping rabbits. These activities can do much to boost a school's morale. Two harambee schools entered the 1968 Schools Drama Festival and one school, Mumbuni in Machakos, came first in the 1968 Kenya Schools Cross Country Championship.

Only a few schools, mainly for girls, are run as boarding schools. But although most are technically day schools, they often provide 'hostels' or allow pupils to rent unused shops from Shs.4/00 to 10/00 a month, in nearby markets. Here pupils develop their own little communities, ('fraternities'), co-operating in bringing

food from their homes, cooking, cleaning and washing clothes, showing very clearly a naturally developed mode of self reliance which could have important implications for future school development.

Educational Provision

At independence most African governments found the blueprints for school development they had inherited were rapidly becoming outdated in relation both to Africa's changing requirements and to educational technological advances. Attempts to redesign education systems in most countries have been cautious, to allow for the necessary expansion of schools, to let priorities become clearer and to explore new techniques and approaches.

In the present interim period, self help schools, attempting to copy government practice, have to focus on the current government supported model. Short term thinking must therefore be concerned primarily with their performance in meeting present 'standards'. Longer term thinking however must consider their implications for the future realignment and expansion of education.

The effect of the traditional four year School Certificate course and the two year Junior Secondary Certificate course, created by the Kenya Ministry of Education as an intermediate stage to the School Certificate, on the harambee schools is difficult to evaluate. On the one hand, the academic orientation, rigidity and selectivity of the School Certificate approach, despite attempts to modify it, do tend to lead to a very narrow and expedient education in schools where resources and experienced teachers are scarce. On the other hand, the immediate advantages it has, in securing continuity, giving stable guide lines in content and standards, and providing an accepted selective device for employment and further education, are needed by this type of school.

In order to examine and estimate the range of quality of harambee school education one must look closely at the resources available. It is important to recognise too that self help schools, as an increasingly significant margin of the rapidly expanding secondary education system, highlight the strains, and the capacity to meet them, throughout the whole range of newly developing secondary schools, whether government aided or not.

a) Teachers: In their early stages most harambee schools relied on primary school teachers, normally P 1's. (11). These teachers are usually able to teach to Form 2 level adequately, and some havetaught their strongest subjects successfully to Form 4. Because of their experience in organising primary schools and their knowledge of rural conditions, these teachers have

become the core of harambee school staffs, and several are proving to be effective headmasters. Supporting staff, in the early stages, were hard to find. Less qualified primary teachers, School Certificate failures, scholars returning from overseas without qualifications, and students on vacation helped to comprise very mixed and rapidly changing school staffs.

The increase in School Certificate leavers is now enabling most schools to staff schools quite adequately to the Form 2 level, removing the necessity for inducement pay over government rates and creating greater stability. However teachers with higher qualifications, especially in Science, are badly needed for Forms 3 and 4.

Some richer schools have secured secondary trained or graduate teachers. One or two have even brought graduates over from India on contracts, whilst others have been helped by missions or volunteer services from overseas. The most fruitful source, however, are the 6th Form leavers who have to wait from December, when they leave school, to the end of September, before they can enter university. A proposal to concentrate a year's teaching into the period before October, taking the major holiday afterwards, could utilise such teachers for the whole academic year. With the help of Provincial Education Officers and 6th. Form headmasters, a pattern of annual recruitment and possibly short training courses could be established, thus creating a very useful and acceptable form of local community service.

Overall, teaching still suffers from a lack of continuity, technique and acadmic knowledge. Such factors as high student/ teacher ratios, pupils missing lessons and the lack of teaching materials, all reinforce a heavy instructional, examination oriented approach. In-service courses, run by the government, and developing experience have improved a number of able and interested teachers and indicate that despite its varying nature, much can be done to help a gradually consolidating harambee teaching force.

b) Teaching materials: Stringent budgets generally keep the purchase of books and equipment to the minimum. Basic course books are usually provided but frequently out of date or inferior editions are ordered and sometimes pupils have to share. Libraries and the provision of sufficient readers are badly neglected, although some schools have found sources of second hand books and are trying, with varying success, to use these to supplement their course books. In a few shcools laboratories have either been built or improvised but most schools teach science mainly by demonstration. This may not be ideal, but is better than no science at all.

More, and better related teaching materials are obviously required. Ministry circulars, handbooks from the Curriculum Development Centre, programmed texts and broadcasts to schools are all becoming available. Gradually schools are learning to take increasing advantage of these new approaches to teaching.

c) Curriculum: The pattern of curriculum that is developing in harambee schools can be seen from the following table, based on the timetables submitted by 38 of the 47 schools represented at Harambee Headmasters Conference of August, 1966: (12)

NON-SCIENCE SUBJECTS	Schools offering	Average No. of periods per week
English	38	9 - 10
Mathematics	38	7 - 8
Geography	38	3 - 44
History	38	3 - 4
Physical Education	38	2
Religious Knowledge	36	3
Swahili	27	3
Music	26	1 - 2
Current Affairs	14	1
Art	9	1 - 2
Library	4	1
SCIENCE SUBJECTS		
Physics, Chemistry, Bilogy	9	6
General Science, Biology	9	6
Biology	6	4
Health Science	4	3 - 4
Biology, Health Science	2	6
General Science	1	6

One school offered Domestic Science for girls, and one offered needlework.

The wide spread of traditional academic subjects, with a heavy emphasis on the Arts and the inadequate covering of the Science subjects, particularly the physical sciences, are obvious. This indicates the imbalances which still affect many harambee schools and emphasises the need to find a new, less complex form through which to present an understanding of modern social and economic forces and scientific principles.

In spite of increasing criticism School Certificate is still the only widely recognised method of assessment. The Kenya Junior Secondary is only now in its third year, and harambee schools took School Certificate for the first time in 1967. So assessments of performance are obviously premature. Four schools entered School

Certificate candidates under their own names in 1967. They obtained a 51% pass rate which compares with a national average for aided schools of 73%. In 1966 ninety eight harambee schools took K.J.S.E. The examination was set to measure performance in Form 2. School performances ranged from 70% to 0% with a median score of 28%. The distribution in separate subjects ranged from over 90% to 0% with median scores of over 50% for every subject except Biology. Because of the grouping regulations distinct bimodal distributions in Geography, History and Biology appear to account for the much lower median score for total passes. (13) These grouping regulations have now been revised. Case studies from 1967 K.J.S.E. results seem to confirm that schools are able to produce quite satisfactory results in the basic skill subject: Mathematics, English and Swahili.

It is often suggested that as harambee schools are increasing school provision they should attempt to broaden its scope by developing technical/commercial and agricultural courses. But to add these subjects, either as special vocational courses or as an attempt to widen the general curriculum, would be difficult because of the lack of suitable teachers, readily available syllabuses, the need for new books and the high cost of equipment which already hamper the government aided schools that are trying to move in this direction. Most of the harambee schools' innovative powers are used trying to overcome the difficulties of meeting the present curriculum, but occasionally interesting ad hoc work is done. The agricultural extention worker visits one school regularly to advise students have volunteered to help build classrooms under the instruction of the local mason.

Perhaps the most enterprising work lies outside the strict harambee school system. This is the development of a number of 'village polytechnics'. (14) So far most of these have been instigated by the Christian Council of Kenya and have received funds and staff from this source. They seek to utilise the harambee school spirit, but concentrate on providing courses in rural skills: masonary, carpentry, agriculture, backing these up with basic language and mathematics courses oriented to rural life and commercial practice. The intention is not to aim directly at permanent wage employment but to help students play a more practical part in rural life by being able to utilise their own or their family's resources more fully and to fit more usefully into the casual contracting pattern and co-operative projects through which most rural development takes plane. So far there are five of these polytechnics under way, three are about to start and four more are projected. Initial reactions show that communal support is developing and that it is beginning to follow much the

same pattern as that for harambee schools. At present fees are only nominal, pupils and parents are becoming enthusiastic and these projects offer a useful example of educational innovation in rural areas.

The current interest in 'education for self reliance' not only makes clear the economic and political setting in which Africa's new educational planners have to work. It also emphasises the need to develop an institution which can meet the needs of its immediate community.

Unfortunately the school, as known in Africa today, is still an institution more suited to the requirements of a shifting urban population than to that of a rural African society, with its established patterns of educational influence and sense of communal concern. (15) But the development of more applicable educational institutions will require far reaching changes in educational thinking. Beyond altering the actual content of the school curriculum, a whole new, rapidly advancing technology offers new approaches to education, especially where community/pupil motivation is likely to be so great. The potential of mass media, programmed learning, correspondence courses, combined with teaching teams under travelling supervisors, suggest the range of advantages offered.

The pressures for extending the period of formal education for African children are increasing at both ends of the present primary system. In general, parents are trying to send their children to school younger incidently matching current educational thinking about cultural enrichment. (16) Yet there is equal concern for schooling to be extended until pupils are old enough to take up adult occupations. In several countries, including Kenya, ways and means of accounting for these pressures and the changing pattern of age and readiness for learning they involve are being considered. Basic skill courses for younger children need to be followed by a cycle of Education to prepare older pupils more specifically for the realities of adult life.

For the present such a cycle must focus on intensive rural development not attempting to train for any special skill but sharpening the abilities of young people to utilise what opportunities for enterprise and innovation that come their way. Developing anddemonstrating the usefulness of reading, calculating, and understanding of basic scientific principles and an economic awareness should be the core to such a course. But it must also have sufficient flexibility to cover the requirements of those going on to higher levels of study or into urban industrial occupations. It is to the need for this type of approach to

('Higher Primary' or 'Lower Secondary') education that harambee schools are pointing. (17)

Such a cycle might be created by developing new forms of co-operation between local communities who could provide buildings in local materials, funds suitable related to the level of local productivity and the enthusiasm of a local committee, and the Government who might provide advice on planning and construction, special teacher training and in-service assistance and support through mass media such as radio, correspondence courses and newspaper supplements. (18) During the period opportunities could be used to combine school education with more practical work in some form of 'polytechnic' training or local youth service. The selection of students for more advanced Education would require careful consideration possibly including the development of valid and reliable apptitude tests, record cards, and techniques for evaluating performance in such activities as 'agricultural projects' or innovative exercises. Once students could be selected, resources in terms of capital expenditure and highly qualified teachers could be concentrated on them.

This is but the germ of one idea. New plans, in whatever form they take, will have to be phased to match the national economic and political requirements. Yet to be fully effective, and to meet the principles implicit in the self reliance ideal, they must do more than consider Government inputs andideologies. Such plans must be made flexible enough to meet differing local conditions andin each district, will need to account for local opinion and be implemented in conjunction with local efforts. (19)

In this paper I have tried to give a brief description of one example of local community opinion and effort related to education. Such a vigorous reaction as the harambee school movement highlights, rather than typifies, the potential advantages and limitations a local community's attitude towards education may present. In doing so however it does indicate the need for a much greater knowledge of the nature of local educational demand, the flexibility of self help efforts and the extent to which useful forms of Government-community cooperation can be developed.

1. J.K. Nyerere: 'Education for Self Reliance'
Ministry of Information and Tourism.
Dar es Salaam, 1967.

2. A detailed explanation of this process is given in P. Foster:
'Education and Social Change in Ghana'
Routledge, Kegan & Paul. 1965.

3. In writing this paper I am grateful for the comments of a number of my colleagues in the Department of Education and the Institute of Development Studies, University College, Nairobi, especially Filimona Indire, Mervyn Pritchard, Jon Moris, Emile Rado, Mark Wheeler, and my wife Jean Anderson.

4. The writer is at present engaged on research into the development of the Independent School movement, and interviews with Independent School leaders, such as Musa Ndirange, Wilson Gathoka and Daniel Mugakenyei, confirm this. These schools were not, in fact, prepared to follow the government models so closely as harambee schools appear to be today. They aimed at teaching English and widening the children's knowledge of their own heritage, and were initially opposed to government syllabuses which did not do this. Eventually several schools began to follow government syllabuses so that their pupils could take government examinations.

5. In some areas facing problems of rural development such as Bolivia or North Eastern Brazil Government programmes including the delivery by air of special school construction kits have had to be designed to stimulate self help activities for educational development.

6. These estimates are based in Ministry of Education statistics and the following surveys:
'After School What?' - a report on the further education and employment of school leavers, Christian Council of Kenya. Nairobi, March, 1966.
J. E. Anderson: 'The Adolescent in the Rural Community'
J. R. Sheffield: Ed: 'Education, Employment and Rural Development' - the report of the Kericho Conference, September, 1966, East African Publishing House, 1967.
L. Bronstein: Preliminary Result of a Survey of 1964 KPE candidates in Embu, Kitui, Kericho and Nyanza. Discussion Paper, Institute for Development Studies, University College, Nairobi, 1967.

7. Surveys of the activities of some of these leavers can be found in:
J.E. Anderson: op. cit. and
L. Bronstein: op. cit.

8. The opportunity costs of the lower levels of education are open to large amount of speculation. For instance, the introduction of new, hybrid, cereal crops in several agricultural areas, including Kenya, has increased production so much that increased investment in education may well have great value by increasing the potential for innovation in the use of cereal crops, such as finding new markets or using cereals to expand livestock production.

9. The Certificate of Primary Education replaces the Kenya Preliminary Education in 1968. The certificate will, in theory, be awarded to every pupil satisfactorily completing seven years primary education. Grades in the examination will be marked on the certificate, and it is these grades which will be used to select entrants for secondary schools.

10. In the light of the recent recommendations of the Plowden Report in Britain there seems to be great scope for involving parents in education in the schools to show them what is happening. Many schools do hold regular

'parents days' and at least one enterprising committee chairman has set up a stand in local markets where books and scientific equipment are demonstrated. It would be very helpful if mass media particularly the radio and the newspapers and the information services could give a much greater coverage to education and the aims which it must have in rural communities.

11. P 1 = Primary 1. This means School Certificate, plus two years of primary school training with, in a few cases, extra courses in lower secondary school work.

12. This conference was organised under the auspices of the Kenya Ministry of Education, by the Department of Education and the Institute of Adult Studies, University College, Nairobi. The proceedings and recommedations were recorded by J.E. Anderson. 'Report on Headmasters' Conference, Kikuyu, August, 1966'. Discussion Paper: Institute of Development Studies, University College, Nairobi.

13. The median scores for the subject were:-

English	98 schools entered	55%
Swahili	86 schools entered	53%
Maths	93 schools entered	60%
General Science	60 schools entered	62%
Biology	82 schools entered	33%
Geography	92 schools entered	52%
History	92 schools entered	56%

14. This term was originally used and the scheme originally conceived in 'After Youth What' op.cit.

15. Two articles which discuss this aspect of the impact of the school on traditional rural communities are:

16. R. Redfield: 'Culture and Education in the Mid-western Highlands of Guatemala'

M.Mead: 'Our Educational Emphases in Primitive Perspective'

Both in: American Journal of Sociology, Vol.LVIII.No.6, May, 1943.

16. Harambee self help efforts in many areas in Kenya also include the provision of nurseries.

17. It is interesting to note the extent to which harambee schools point to a natural process of extension which seems to affect primary education and the confusion that arises when present divisions between primary and secondary education are considered. The Cockerton judgment against higher grade schools in England in 1900 and the past 1944 struggle to restructure secondary education in face of increasing numbers make interesting parallels.

18. A series of proposals were made at the Headmasters Conference of Harambee Schools in 1966.
A number of these recommendations have been taken up by the Ministry of Education. Harambee schools are visited and advised by the inspectorate and are increasingly turning the attention of such bodies as the Institute of Education to the needs of the smaller day secondary school: see

John and Jean Anderson — New Schools for Old, a discussion strategies for meeting the increasing demand for secondary education in Kenya.
Discussion Paper No. Department of Education, University College, Nairobi.

19. The proposed take over by the Government of a number of harambee schools under the secondary school expansion programme shows up the need for more flexible educational thinking particularly by aiding bodies. The IDA Scheme which required heavy capital expenditure on a relatively few large traditional boarding schools did not take into account the possibility of restructuring education to utilise the potential which self help schools offer.
The newspapers and the information services could give a much greater coverage to education and the aims which it must have in rural communities.